8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 386 over the branch of a tree so that the mat forms a loop hanging down to a convenient height. A pole is put through the loop, and manned (or "womanned") by several people who turn the pole round, thus twisting the strainer up tight and expressing the pigment which runs into a receptacle placed to catch it. This mat in the course of twisting is subjected [461 626] to a great strain but is hard to break. The expression is used of a lazy person who, although he is the subject of many admonitions and rebukes, is yet very hard to shift.

539 287 426 **129. Maamaa a hiki papa:** Shifting the tapa board is light.

The *papa* is the long hollow board, or rather wooden structure, used in printing designs on the native cloth. It is fairly heavy and requires two or three people to lift it about. The idea of this expression is that one who wants to borrow one of these printing boards for cloth making in his own home finds no difficulty about securing the necessary help to lift it, but when it comes to returning it to its owners there are constant difficulties in the way.

539 286 735 **130. Nae li ki fe hoo geeji kahi?** Where did you throw your *kahi* shell?

The *kahi* shell (*Arca scapha*) is used as a scraper in the preparation of the native cloth. This phrase is a reply to one who goes to beg cloth from another. What did you do with the shells for making scrapers that you have not got a stock of cloth for yourself? The expression is not confined to those who beg cloth, but is extended generally to those who find themselves in want of a commodity which they might reasonably be expected to supply for themselves.

539 386 193 571 **131. Tai e oko atu:** The coloring matter will run on, that is, the coloring matter with which one part of the cloth is stained is that with which the adjoining part will also be colored.

This expression is used as a reproof and warning to those who jeer at the misfortunes which have come upon another. Just as the color on one section of the cloth is repeated on the next and each part in turn comes to be stained, so will he who today scoffs at the afflictions of another find himself in his turn involved in the like misfortunes. It is applied especially to the infirmities of old age. The strong man may laugh today at the weaknesses of age, but his own turn will come.

539 386 517 **132. Tuu tai:** Coloring standing, that is, a thing in which is the coloring matter used in staining the native cloth.

This phrase is not properly classed as a proverbial expression but is always written and felt as a single word, meaning beautiful, handsome, whether of physical feature or of conduct.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

A group of say, sixteen women will make anything up to three hundred fathoms of bark cloth in one day's work. The length prepared is divided among all the women who shared in the work. Each household tries to keep from one to three hundred fathoms of cloth always on hand. This supply should last the household from one to four years, depending upon the size of the household, the number of gift occasions in which it participates, and the incidence of *tapu* mourning-occasions.

The stencilling of prepared barkcloth is a laborious job. There are relatively few stencils to be found in Pangai today. In terms of money-value, a new stencil costs from three to five pounds to make, depending upon the intricacy of the required design. Stencils are often borrowed. With their return to the owner would go a gift of from twenty to fifty fathoms of bark cloth according to the acknowledged value of the stencil. Stencils newly made today show a wide variety of designs and motifs. Besides the more orthodox flower and geometrical designs, stencils may include motifs which range from imaginative conceptions of the Tongan flag to the names of the main streets in Nukualofa. Many women in Pangai today are not bothering with stencils. They are decorating their bark cloth with freehand finger-painted designs. The orthodox Tongan dyes for bark cloth give two colours only: black and a reddish-brown. Today some women find commercial dyes bought at the store less troublesome and more pleasing to use. To the European eye these store-colours are often garish and crude as compared with the softness of the native dyes.

MAT-MAKING

The mats made by the Pangai women range from rough floor mats to the finer sleeping mats and, finest of all, the mats which function as skirts *(vala)*[10] to be worn on occasions

[10] The *vala* which for shortness' sake we translate as "skirt" (though the word skirt is likely to call up quite the wrong semantic association), consists of a rectangular piece of bark cloth or cotton piece-goods or a fine mat. It is worn wrapped round the waist, hanging from waist to ankles or just above them. For ordinary wear men fasten the *vala* at the waist with a leather belt; for ceremonial wear, with a sennit belt. Men wear the *vala* for everyday use. Men and women alike wear the ceremonial mat-*vala* on all occasions when respect and humility require symbolization.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

276 574 576 584 A special case is provided by a young man courting. The young man Avai, for instance, goes to Fakataha's house. If the household is awake he walks inside. If all are asleep, he wakens the group before entering and asking for the girl Ana to make *kava* for him. Other young men drift into the house as soon as a light begins to shine. Avai pounds the *kava* he has brought while Ana makes the drink. Fakataha the mother, acts as chaperon. It is not polite for her to tell the young men to leave. The whole household, therefore, must remain awake and active until the men decide to leave. They may stay as late as they wish, and if they have nothing better to do, they stay until the early hours of the morning. Children crawl into corners and go to sleep. Older people in the household sleep sitting up in the *kava*-circle. In the end, only Ana the maker, her vigilant mother, and the young men may be awake.

276 415 412 The large wooden *kava*-bowl is a prized household possession. Most of those in the village have come from Fiji. Some are so worn and old that all the legs have been broken. As long as the bowl itself has not split, it is kept in use, propped up if necessary by elaborate piles of stones and pieces of wood. The stones between which the root is pounded (formerly it was chewed) are also special stones, kept for this use only. They are not shaped or modelled in any way. Two hard flat stones are all that is necessary, the base-stone as large and as flat as possible, the pounding-stone of any convenient shape that it may be gripped easily. A [426] household not possessing either bowl or pounders borrows them from a friendly household should it desire to make *kava*. They are returned promptly after use because none wants to have responsibility for an accidental breakage.

276 *Kava*-making in the village follows general Polynesian pattern.[27] The roots are crushed by a young man sitting beside the *kava*-maker. They are then placed in the bowl, water is added (generally from a nearby kerosene-tin), the crushed material saturated and squeezed and then removed from the bowl by the use of a strainer of coconut-fibre. One young man sits on either side of the maker. The boy to the

[27] Specific procedures used in the making of *kava* for special purposes such as at times of marriage and death, are noted in other appropriate sections of this report.

Those kinsmen who help and are invited vary according to the scale of *fakaafe*. For example, 16 gave one of the biggest *fakaafe*. Those who gathered for cooking on this occasion were his half brother (24), his mother's half brother (28) with his son (23), his father's father's brother (22), his wife's brother (15), and 21's daughter's husband, between whom and 16 the relationship was not clear. They all belong to the Free Wesleyan Church except 15 and 21's daughter's husband, who are Mormons. The villagers stress that the feast is offered to the God, not for themselves, and they know that the feast is under the prescription of the church. The privilege of giving the feast is conferred by the steward, who also selects *malanga* to be invited, but those who help and attend it are not necessarily the same sect members. In case of 2, a member of the Free Church of Tonga, he invited his mother's sister's sons with their wives (33) and 9's daughter of twelve years old, all of whom are Catholic, and his daughter with her husband (8), members of the Free Wesleyan Church. He invited no one except *malanga* from his own church. Mutual help among relatives is still found on such an occasion of religious character. Yet, this does not mean that those who participate are selected on the basis of *famili* or *famili* organisation. There seems no particular rule for selecting the participants.

On the last day of *uike lotu* (a prayer week in the beginning of the new year), Pualiki gave one of the biggest feasts in the name of his second son. Eighteen pigs and more than twenty chickens were cooked for this feast, and over twenty men helped the famil yin preparation. Pualiki was helped by one or two men each from 14, 10, 1 (his sons' households), 34, 18, 31 (his brothers' households), 7, 6, 20, 23 (the households of his mother's relations); four men from 4 (the household of his father's relation); three men from 9 (the household not related).

It is difficult from this list to determine which side of his relations helped him more.

Land Use

According to Tongan law, every male Tongan on reaching sixteen years of age, is entitled to receive a grant of 8¼ acres as *api tukuhau* and 1 rood 24 perches as *api kolo*. But the actual circumstance is not always in accord with the law. Even in Nukuleka, which is the Government Estate, only 21 men over sixteen years of age have *api tukuhau*, while 28 have not. Among the 28 men, there are those who are not married or, even if married, are still living with their father or wife's father or elder brother who have *api tukuhau* in the same households. The remaining 11 men out of the 28 keep nevertheless their own independent households. The following are the relations from whom these 11 men borrow part of *api tukuhau* for cultivating: father; mother (she has received it from her second husband); mother's half brother; grandfather and his brothers; father's mother's sister's son; the third cousin; wife's father; wife's mother; wife's brother and her sister's husband; one who is not related; Catholic Church.

It is evident that all except two men borrow the land from their *famili* or wife's *famili*. *Famili* members should help each other. They

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45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

are not reluctant to ask for help from their *famili;* one may *kole* (ask) foods, money, land use for cultivating or housing, and so forth. And one who is asked for something by one's *famili* would not refuse it. In case they borrow a portion of *api tukuhau* of their *famili,* they can usually plant and harvest any crop they like. The only exception is that the borrower has no right to get the coconuts from trees already planted. The coconuts are the chief source of the cash income for the villagers. When I asked them "What do you pay for the use of the land?" a common answer to this question is that he (she) is my *famili,* which suggests their idea that they do not have to pay to their *famili.*

Prohibition of Marriage

Marriage prohibition extends bilaterally towards the farthest relationship. If two persons recognise themselves as belonging to the same *famili,* even if their actual relationship may not be traceable, they must not marry. A man and woman in the same generation in the same *famili* stand as brother and sister; the former should respect and protect the latter. But in a different village, I know of a couple consisting of a man and his father's (classificatory?) sister's son's daughter. The story about their marriage is as follows. They had lived in the same village and the boy fell in love with her. Every time he came to see the girl, her parents suspecting their immoral love, sent him away. But one day they ran away to Nuku'alofa to get married. After they came back, the bridegroom and his father visited his wife's parents, taking with them food which had been cooked in an *umu.* Then on the evening of the same day, her mother brought bark cloth and mats to their house for the bridal bed. Now, they are apparently not blamed either by their parents or by the villagers because of the run-away marriage, and her mother was not ashamed to tell me the story. Anyway this remains an exceptional case.

Famili functions in a field of co-operation and marriage and prohibition. On the other hand a *famili* organisation does not necessarily operate at all since the group for co-operation need not extend beyond the household. A person needing another's help, may ask the members of his *famili* individually. In short, in the Tongan way, more emphasis is put on the interpersonal, individual relationship than on the group relationship. The next chapters will report the kinship behaviour centring upon the relationship between individuals.

V The Interpersonal Relationship

Kinship Terminology

The terminology of Tongan kinship system has already been precisely described by Gifford, I will touch on some variations from his statement. He wrote about *tamai* that all male and female relatives of the father and in his generation are said to be called fathers.[15] But so far as I could know, this usage of *tamai* is not so extensive today. It includes the father and the father's brothers in classificatory sense, but not female relations of the father. In the same way, I am not certain if *fa'e* includes

15. Gifford 1929: 28.

Land Tenure

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421 The present system of land distribution reflects what has been called "overlapping stewardship" and is characteristic of many ethnographic Polynesian societies (Sahlins 1958: 6-8). In Tonga the crown owns all land; it is then divided into hereditary estates (tofi'a) held by nobles as primary tenants. The estates are divided into bush allotments ('api tukuhau) and town allotments ('api kolo) and commoners hold these as final tenants. Legally all male taxpayers enjoy the right to one allotment of each type, but in fact a large number of men have no registered allotments. The 1966 Census shows that 57.8 percent of the males over fifteen years of age were without land (Fiefia 1968: 30). The fact that there is insufficient land for all males to have an allotment of 8-1/4 acres will mean that as population increases the number of landless will increase. At present most peasants have access to land not through their legal rights but through sharing land with kinsmen or friends who have been able to obtain their allotments.

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Tongan Society

161 Tonga's population in 1970 was estimated to be 87,406 (Tu'ipelehake 1970: 10). This population is relatively homogeneous with less than 1 percent of the population being of nationalities other than Tongan. These non-Tongan components consist primarily of Europeans from throughout the British Commonwealth who are in the Kingdom as administrators and teachers, and a small population of Indians who are occupied in the commercial sector.

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476 in such groups and work progresses with a great deal of conversation and joking; frequent breaks for drinking coconuts and smoking are also important as is a midday break for eating and sleeping.

During 1971 seventeen of the adult men in Puke belonged to work groups called kautaha toungāue 'association that works in rotation'. There were two such groups, one having a membership of ten and the other a membership of seven. Each group had a timekeeper but no other leader. The tasks undertaken by the groups were planting and hoeing for each member in the following manner. Each day on which the kautaha was to work, each member had one hour in the morning to work on his own garden plot; the remainder of the day the entire membership worked on the land of one member. The order of rotation was established by the criterion of the proximity of each garden to the village, group work beginning in the closest garden and ending at the most distant.

The basis of membership in these groups seems to be residence and friendship, as all members of one group reside in the northern half of the village and the members of the other group all reside in the southern half.

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427 All household heads in Puke have access to land through one of the following: (1) legal usufruct rights based on registration with the government, (2) usufruct rights granted by the noble holding the estate, or (3) usufruct rights "loaned" by a person holding land by one of the other two methods. In the village thirteen men hold land as legal registrants, fourteen hold land at the discretion of a noble, and fifteen use land of a kinsman or friend.

431 Such a transaction is a process in which the gift can be either solicited or offered, but solicitiing a gift implies a stronger obligation to reciprocate than does a gift freely offered.

426 Borrowing is based on the same transaction as just discussed and is only distinguished by the fact that the item solicited is returned. The Tongan verb nō is translated as 'to borrow'. This is the mode of transaction which plays a dominant role in the circulation of durable and/or capital goods such as gardening tools, looking utensils, and fishing paraphernalia.

Another from of borrowing is a collateralized loan. Fakamo'ua is and type of loan but is primarily used to describe a loan backed by collateral; it is also the term used for a charge account in the context of market transactions. The collateralized loan is a relatively rare form of transaction but an example is as follows: Palu needed a pig to meet his obligations for the funeral of a high ranking relative. He had no pigs at that time so he went to his neighbor and asked to borrow one. The neighbor agreed to loan Palu a pig, but only if Palu would agree to bring two tapas and also pay $T10.00 at the end of a month. Palu agreed, brought the tapas, and took the pig. At the end of the month he paid his neighbor the agreed amount for the pig and reclaimed his tapas. This form of transaction is obviouly based more on distrust than trust and is, therefore, antithetic to the principles involved in most reciprocity transactions.

437 Balanced reciprocity or trade is also a rather rare form of trans-
438 action and is almost completely limited to the context of group exchange.

431 In Table 16$_A^A$ I have presented a breakdown on the types of items involved in the exchanges recorded. About 63 percent of the exchanges involved some type of food, and garden products had the highest frequency of involvement. This category includes vegetables and tree fruits including the coconut. Money was involved as either a gift or a loan in about 9 percent of the cases. The category "other" includes a wide range of otherwise unclassifiable items such as fuels, soap and bleach, and European foodstuffs other than meat and fish.

Some other sample characteristics are that 71 percent of the items exchanged were domestically-produced goods, 20 percent were imported goods, and 9 percent consist of cash. About 79 percent of the items exchanged were consumable goods as opposed to 21 percent durable items. Durables are frequently loaned rather than given, but there is no terminological distinction made between loaning and giving in the reciprocity system.

In about 87 percent of the transactions the informants said there was no explicit expectation of a return gift. This does not mean the receiver is under no obligation. First, all adults are expected to participate in the reciprocity system as both givers and receivers. Second, individuals maintain a loose reckoning of the balance of exchange between themselves and other persons. Between non-kinsmen there is an expectation of balance in flow of goods between two persons. For individuals this means that if he does not give as much as he receives, he will probably become the subject of gossip, and lose some of his rights to solicit gifts. A person who gives more than he receives obligates

A$_A$ [See p. 100--Analysis]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 101]

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

indicated. The authorities in Australia could not have foreseen the fatal consequences of leaving him in Tonga, but they should have recalled him for the sake of the proprieties. 797

It should be said, however, that there is no reason for believing that Baker was "probably lecherous".(6) This was not alleged by his contemporaries and he would not have survived for long in Tonga if there had been any truth in this. Watkin, who afterwards differed from Baker because of his ambition and his financial methods, obviously believed that there was no actual immorality in Baker's conduct.

In January 1873, the Australian Conference decided that the superintendent of a circuit might convene a meeting of ministers to put the chairman of a district on trial; one of their number, and not the chairman himself, should preside in such a case. This reversed the situation in which Baker stayed in the chair while being tried in August 1870.(7)

Acting in defiance of the "Instructions to Missionaries", Baker continued to be actively engaged in both politics and trading. By the end of 1872 he was, except in name, the king's secretary. He always maintained that he was merely giving advice when requested. At the Tonga District Meeting on 30 December 1873, objections were taken to his participation in political affairs; he was then in the early stages of preparing for the king the Constitution of 1875. No formal charges were laid against him, but Moulton expressed himself as troubled about the situation, as his letter to Chapman, Missionary Secretary, showed. He reported: 797 643 797

> "Our District Meeting was concluded yesterday, and though it has been in many respects a painful one, yet the result is on the whole satisfactory. The evil I spoke of has been stopped without our being reduced to the necessity of sending up a formal charge." (8)

So another charge to the Church authorities against Baker was avoided.

In 1873 Baker lent money to the Tonga Government to establish a sugar plantation. How he was able to do this remains a mystery. In a letter to Chapman (30 December 1873) Baker admitted that he had lent the money but agreed to withdraw from any connection with the sugar plantation. He also offered to leave the Mission and to prepare accounts preparatory to leaving, because he believed he was being persecuted by his colleagues in spite of the Mission's financial success and his work in framing the Government's laws; "I believe Messrs. Moulton and Minns want me out of the district," he wrote.(9) [652]

In 1875 he took part in establishing the Bank of Tonga; he lent a half of the paid-up capital of £15,000, the Government being responsible for the other half. The bank closed down after a year. This was one of Baker's strangest actions while still a missionary. He said nothing about it to the Church leaders in Sydney but on 15 March 1876 Chapman wrote to him. He had learnt by accident about Baker's banking activities; among various bills presented to Chapman was one from the Bank of Tonga, signed by Baker as "Chairman of Directors". Before referring the case to the Missionary Committee, Chapman asked Baker for an explanation "in justice and kindness to you". Always a gentle soul, Chapman reminded Baker of his re-election to the chairmanship in 1873, with the Committee's endorsement, and he expressed surprise at Baker's actions in view of "the bitter experience you have had and the injury to our work in the past".(10) This was clearly a reference to previous charges against him. Baker averred that his banking activities had brought him no profit and that he was only trying to help the Tongans; although he was willing to withdraw from financial involvement 797 652 426

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

unsatisfactory conduct. The Premier, Jiosateki, and the Treasurer, Fotu, were deported to Fiji; they had been lax and had not enforced payment of taxes, it was said, the effect of a hurricane being a plausible excuse. They were also charged with corruption. Sir Everard even threatened to depose and deport the king unless he ceased his financial practices. When this threat, given privately to Tupou, was unheeded, the High Commissioner repeated it in the presence of the chiefs, with the result that the king signed the Supplementary Agreement to the Treaty of 1900-01.

In his address to the king and chiefs on 28 December 1904, the High Commissioner declared that the Premier's advice to the king had been

> "a disgrace; he [the king] had placed himself in the hands of a foreign firm . . . If you do not do what is right it is absolutely certain that my king will take your country away from you by force."

At the same time the High Commissioner conveyed to the king and chiefs the policy of the Colonial Office, given before he had left Fiji for Tonga, namely —

> "We are not working towards annexation but are making a genuine attempt to let the Tongan people govern themselves." (46)

The British Government gave a loan to meet Tonga's immediate liabilities. By the Supplementary Agreement to the Treaty, 18 January 1905, the British Consul was given a veto over expenditure and over appointments of Europeans to the Tongan public service. The king agreed that lease payments from Government land should be paid into revenue and not regarded as his own perquisites. The king promised also to abide by the Constitution in future and to rule with the consent of his Cabinet.

John Mateialona, a grandson of Tupou I, who might have been included in the royal line of succession if he had not been a Wesleyan, became Premier in 1905, replacing Jiosateki, now deported. Parliament, which had not met since 1903, was called together in 1906, this being only the fifth time it had met since the king's reign began in 1893. Even this Parliament, in 1906, lasted only eight days. Mateialona made a reputation for probity as well as ability; he instituted a budget system, rehabilitated the finances, and set an example of sound administration that was followed by later Governments.

In 1910 a large co-operative company that had exported its members' copra and sold goods in return went into liquidation. An inquiry revealed that the people had been exploited. When the founder of the co-operative company, A. D. Cameron, brought an action against the Consul, W. T. Campbell, and the auditors, these defendants won their case through Mateialona testifying that his Government's action in compulsorily winding up the company was taken in the national interest. However, the king was displeased with what Mateialona had done in this matter, and he was replaced as Premier by Tu'ivakano in 1912. Mateialona was given a title of nobility as Tupouto'a in 1921.

* * * *

At the 1916 Conference of the Free Church, J. B. Watkin celebrated the 50th anniversary of the commencement of his ministry in Tonga; he was then nearly 80 years of age. His only European colleague during the 40 years of separation from the Wesleyan Church was Edwin Harkness, a member of a well-known Methodist family in Bendigo, Victoria, who came in 1910 and ministered in Ha'apai for ten years before entering the regular Methodist ministry

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1921-1952]

Wheen, now President-General, were welcomed to the celebrations which lasted several weeks. 797

It was hoped that the Centenary would remove any consciousness of differences within the united Church and even soften the hearts of those who had refused to join it. Undoubtedly, there was a fulfilment of the first desire. A very emotional outburst of religious fervour and Christian love indicated this. The revival (as it seemed to be) began in January 1926 in the village of Koulo in Ha'apai. Like the Pentecostal experiences in Vava'u in 1834 it spread very quickly through the whole of Tonga. "The love has fallen" upon the Church, the people said, and any friction within the united Church disappeared. The second desire, that there would be a movement towards completing union, failed entirely; the Centenary celebrations left untouched those who were opposed to union. 795

It was intended that a Centenary Church in Nuku'alofa should be the most demonstrative memorial. The site on historic Zion Hill where the old Wesleyan Church had stood was too small for the very large building now planned. Financial difficulties, with the economic depression and then the Second World War, caused repeated delays with this project; and it was not until 1952 that the imposing Centenary Church, seating over 2,000, was built. 348 346

Some of the financial difficulties in the Church arose from the pressure of chiefs who expected the Church to retain their favour by making loans to them. This practice had been widely followed before union in 1924 and it proved difficult to reverse it suddenly. This illustrated another problem in a "chiefly Church". 795 426 565 622

It was not only at the highest national level that deference to the chief could cause a weakness in the Church. At the local level the ministers were sometimes brought into conflict with the chiefs' authority. It was traditional for the people to follow a chief's decision. When moral and spiritual issues were concerned and when a chief thought little of the standards of the Church it was difficult for a minister in the village to oppose him. For example, he might countenance alcohol or gambling or he might expect his wishes regarding church property or money to be obeyed. In all such cases it required a strong personality in a Tongan minister to uphold both moral principles and strict church procedures against a chief. 795 622 565

Better education, general and religious, for chiefs and people, and better theological training for the ministry, were needed to strengthen the Church's character and influence. In the forty years of division in Tonga educational progress was hindered not only by the limited resources of the Wesleyan Church but by the continuing rivalry between Church and Government, aggravated by the old differences between the Wesleyans and the Free Church, the latter supported by the Government system of education. 795 891

Reunion led to new opportunities in education. Before reunion Tupou College had waned greatly in numbers. It had continued to use Tongan as its medium, with the large amount of literature translated by Moulton. However, the growing need for English was recognized by the establishing of a new section with this objective; this was built in 1921 at Nafualu, four miles west of Nuku'alofa. At first it had only 20 students, with the brilliant historian-anthropologist, Dr. E. E. V. Collocott, as Principal; he retired early in 1924. The school grew to 104 in 1928. The girls' section, soon to be called Queen Salote College (in honour of George 795 873 [91]

/19 cont./

181 friendly and hospitable as were their ancestors (8)

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8. See John Reinhold Forster, Observations made during a voyage round the world /cited in English/. London 1778. p. 235; G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. Berlin 1778. p. 359; J. Cook, *und nach dem Nordpol hinauf* Beschreibung einer Entdeckungsreise in das stille Meer* /Description of an exploratory journey in the Pacific Ocean and up to the Northpole/ in Geschichte /History/ loc. cit. vol. VI. Berlin 1787. p. 277; J.T. Plant, Handbuch einer vollstandigen Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte Polynesiens /Handbook of a complete geography and history of Polynesia/ vol. II. Leipzig and Gera 1799. p. 375; J. Martin., An account of the natives of the Tonga Islands /cited in English/ vol. I. London 1817. p. 70/71; idem., loc. cit. vol. II. London 1817. p. 166; S.S. Farmer, Tonga and the Friendly Islands /cited in English/. London 1855. p. 150.

--aside from acts of considerable brutality in wartime. Life in the

181 villages is always peaceful (9)

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9. Although, as a result of the "liberation" of the commoners and their living together in villages, there is sometimes a certain rivalry between individual inhabitants who are ambitious and strive for influence, yet their general quiet-peaceful disposition seldom lets such tensions become visible and break out into open conflict.

(the last murder in Tonga occurred about 25 years ago), and on the small islands every Tongan can even still ask every village inhabitant for something he happens to need--be it a yam tuber or a

181 horse--and he gets it without a direct return service. Most Tongans
431 are certainly not attached to material things, they can very easily give away and make presents and take pleasure in it. (10)

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[434]

10. This may even involve larger objects. For example, in 1951 a young Tongan on Nomuka asked a fellow-villager for permission to harvest coconuts on the latter's plantation. This was granted him, and his copra production

[No p. 19 in translated manuscript--Analyst]

/19 cont./

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434 brought him a profit of £T 75 (about 700 German marks).

In the villages of the small Tonga Islands almost every group having
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264 a meal together will invite one or more passersby to eat with them;
594 the guest is given the best, and at the larger festivals which, since the "democratization," have moved more within the commoners' realm (private persons, kautaha or cooperative labor pools, and churches as organizers), they usually do not economize in expenses.

181 European influence has been able to change but little their
177 general good nature and hospitality, especially since life in the villages has remained easy and carefree. Yet the influx of money is
181 to be observed. On the small islands there are relatively few
177 natives who /20/ hand over to their fellow villagers the products of
184 their plantations and other goods for money, (11)
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437

11. Often they exchange value for value, for example a length of tapa for a pig. However, giving without direct quid pro quo, this old system of Tongan community life (a perpetual assurance of reciprocity) is still, on an island like Nomuka, more frequent than barter; it is practiced mostly in the Ha'apai group, less in Tongatapu and Vava'u, and seems rather suppressed in places like Nuku'alofa and Neiafu.

and they are generally felt to be outsiders in the community. In places like Nuku'alofa and Neiafu, on the other hand, there are many of them and there, in the gradually urbanized settlements with European commercial enterprises, selling is taken for granted among the Tongans.
181 Yet business acumen is little developed among these natives. (12)
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12. For example, Tongans who help the "medicine dispenser" on the plantations of Nomuka would rather accept a packet of tobacco than a seven shillings wage per day, though in the shops of the same island they have no

/49 cont./

121. On a small island like Nomuka there were already four lowerable sewing machines in 1952. The hand sewing machines in particular are willingly lent from house to house.

just as they, naturally, also hem the vala. (122)

122. This work is sometimes also done by men.

In Tonga the shirt was introduced by law as a result of missionary influence ("decent clothing"). Thus today in the villages one does not see a Tongan with the upper part of the body uncovered, though on the plantations many will seek relief on hot days and take off their shirts. True, the law did not prescribe the shape and condition of the shirt, so that for some natives it seems sufficient, at least on weekdays, to place a circular rag around their necks. Every Tongan observes a definite hierarchy in his wardrobe: the first outfit (his best and newest things) is commonly worn to church on Sunday, the second outfit (that is, the one for Sundays that is already somewhat worn) is donned for festive occasions and for the kawa gatherings, while the third (that is, the outworn second) serves for everyday and, along with definite work clothes, is still very serviceable for various activities, especially in the plantings.

/50/ For church-going, for a festival or a fono (123)

123. A village gathering, especially for the purpose of hearing explanations by government representatives with regard to specific village matters.

the ta'o-vala is worn, a more or less finely plaited mat (depending on one's wealth), secured with a plaited coconut cord (kafa). (124)

124. The customary types of ta'o-vala mats are the ones made of the various pandanus species, ta'o-vala tofua, ta'o-vala kie, ta'o-vala tapa 'i la; less frequently used is the rather shabby ta'o-vala tangai made from a dyed European sack.

/180 cont./

501 178 177 replaced the ancient Tongan catamarans (kalia). (469)

469. Natives of Vava'u also use the motor boats belonging to Neiafu merchants in fishing with the towline (fakatele).

226 292 178 824 /181/ The sandals (teka) plaited from the bast of the fau tree (Hibiscus tiliaceus) are today still worn by the men (sometimes also by the women) when they fish on the rough coral reefs.

415 226 824 177 Fish are transported in part in the traditional fish baskets ('oa) plaited of young coconut palm leaves; (470)

470. These are apparently the ones Mariner refers to in his account (J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 309.)

however, they often use European bags, while the small fish--apparently according to ancient custom--are strung on sticks stuck through their heads.

286 463 (178) According to Mariner (471)

471. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 96.

net-knotting in ancient Tonga was a hereditary craft. Nowadays, to all appearances, it is not, though in every village there are a few natives (especially older ones) who are able to make fish nets. As in (824) old times, they use a knotting shuttle (netting needle) (hika) which (239) is carved from the wood of the tao tree (Casuarina equisetifolia L.) or of the milo tree, or a sperm whale bone, and a measure for the meshes (mata kupenga) cut out of tortoise shell or fau wood (Hibiseus tiliaceus). An old razor blade serves as knife. They buy the necessary amount of twine for making the net and ask one of the (465) experts to knot a fish net; usually his work is acknowledged with a small gift (for example, tobacco). Since they are thus dependent 227 on the work of a specialist and the twine also costs a certain sum of (463) money, not every household nowadays owns nets; they lend them to each (426) other. The situation was probably similar in ancient Tonga, through (178) the supply of fish nets was in general probably greater.

/243 cont./
000 pineapples.

436 The natives have become well accustomed to the significance and
178 use of money, since they take for granted shopping even in places
where Tongans own the trading stations. Here no one tries /to invoke/
[425] the old system of "asking something without direct return service";
[437] the established prices of the shopkeepers are paid without demur, nor
[435] is there any bargaining or dickering.

434 The Tongans use the money they have earned mainly to buy fabric
432 for clothing and readymade clothing, oil to burn, soap, matches,
436 tobacco, canned mean and fish, flour, sugar, housewares and tools,
to pay land rent and taxes and to contribute to churches. Usually
the native spends his money rapidly. For example, if he has received
20 £T. for delivering copra, he often immediately buys 10 to 15 £T.
worth of the aforementioned items and sometimes also things for
which he has no particular use. After a while, he has made more
copra and the process is repeated. Many Tongans regularly spend all
their money, knowing that they will presently produce more copra and
436 earn money anew. How could they have the European concept of money
[177] when there is no dependence on it here and all the customary and
usually necessary European calculation is completely unknown to most
Tongans. They can also live on /the products of/ their plantations
425 and the sea, and if they can no longer put off payments due on their
426 pole tax and land rent or the purchase of a new article of clothing,
436 they may ask for the required sum, according to their old custom,
178 from a relative or a neighbor and--especially on the small islands--
there is scarcely anyone who will, without special reason, break
with the old system of "anticipated reciprocity" and leave such a
426 wish unfulfilled. Often they do indeed regard such money as borrowed
436 and return it after a time; but if the debtor completely forgets to
178

/243 cont./

426 436 178 give it back, the creditor will not be much concerned and will regard the matter as settled, in accordance with the old Tongan custom.

436 434 [431] There is no doubt that the natives have learned to value money and like it, but even the present high copra prices have not led to a "copra intoxication" and /244/ a "money fever." They often give away whole loads of coconuts, and in the Copra Board in Neiafu, for example, it was observed in 1952 that the Tongans who could not be paid the full copra price as a result of a temporary shortage of pence coins, did not come back even after several weeks to pick up their three-or ten-pence.

454 436 [428] [432] [439] 434 436 For most of the natives the idea of saving, in the sense of a continuous accumulation of sums of money, is unfamiliar. About four decades ago many families were said to have saved relatively large sums in order to build. At that time several of the European-type frame houses were erected. Today large objects such as dwellings, cement tanks and carts have often been inherited, and money is spent on clothing and food and other European goods. Given the normal demand, the to some extent, artificially produced demand by the shopkeeper's promotion, and the relatively high prices, money is soon spent in a large family.

436 454 472 Though the majority of Tongans do not use money purposefully (in the European sense), there is nevertheless no dearth of examples of deliberate management of money after the manner of whites. Thus, for example, F.S., a Tongan shopkeeper on Nomuka, through carefully considered management, within nine months (1951/52), increased his capital from 61£T. to about 800£T. and the two aforementioned truck drivers as well as the lemonade seller on Lifuka (648)

648. See pp. 361-364.

[181] may also serve as example of a wise use of money. These natives,

/244 cont./

454 [436] [472] [181] [177] [652] [453] however, represent a very small minority with an "un-Tongan business sense."--It is quite interesting that a larger group of Tongans, such as probably exists from what has just been said, seems to have taken over the European habit of money-saving, for at the end of 1951 the Government Savings Bank /cited in English/ reported 6134 savings accounts with deposits of 181,611£T. (649)

649. Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the Years 1950 and 1951. p. 11.

However, it is more a matter of "safe-keeping of sums of money for a limited time: than a "continuous accumulation of deposits," for in the same year the withdrawals exceeded the deposits.

452 426 There is no real indebtedness among the Tongans, for shopkeepers throughout the Archipelago today sell mostly for cash. Only a few Tongan grocers on the smaller islands sell goods on credit. But they [671] demand of those countrymen, who /245/ seem to them unreliable, securities (for example, valuable mats); it also happens that natives pawn coconut harvests and other plantation products, though this is forbidden by law.

436 177 178 182 Money has had a certain negative influence on the social life of the Tongans inasmuch as some natives have gone over to selling food and other things to their countrymen, which were formerly, as a matter of principle, given them without direct quid pro quo. Some [425] Tongans even take advantage of the old traditional system of "anticipated reciprocity" by asking their neighbors for something and receiving this "for nothing," according to the old custom, while they themselves fulfill similar wishes only against payment in money. Another case is that of S.M. on Nomuka who immediately pays for everything he requests and receives from his neighbors, in order to avoid the obligation of having to give something himself, the next time, without being repaid. Thus money can have an alienating effect

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

423 subleasing is common throughout the islands, and most frequently,
427 payment is in a traditional means, such as an occasional basket of taro or yams, or on a special occasion, a small pig.

511 Upon initial inspection, the information presented thus
423 far suggests a land shortage in the Kingdom. However, this interpretation is not necessarily valid. When confronted by statistics showing less than one-half of the Tongan taxpayers possessing allotments, several qualifications must be recognized. Misallocation and maldistribution of land certainly exists. However, none of the interviewed population, even in the squatters section of the
511 capital, appeared to be critically short of food. In cases where
426 land is totally unavailable for household cultivation of vegetables,
431 it is traditional to borrow or receive subsistence foodstuffs from
511 neighbors, friends, or relatives. In this way even the totally landless Tongans benefit from garden produce. (Food quality does vary within the Tongan popualtion, and this will be discussed further within a later chapter.)

241 Borrowing land for cash cropping or purposes other than
434 subsistence food production is rare. In very few interviews with
[423] landless Tongans did the sale of cash crops contribute to the
[425] income of the household, and this fact was often reflected significantly in the income of the landless family. However, landlessness
511 should not be considered synonymous with poverty in Tonga. Land-
434 less households, though enjoying less agricultural cash income,
431 often receive income from more fortunate relatives, in the form of gifts. (While the most frequent extra-subsidiary expense

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241 factor in Tongan society reduces the incentive for increased
241 production. Individuals who manage to significantly increase their
571 production of crops or agricultural profits are under social pres-
426 sure to supply loans and miscellaneous obligations to close rela-
tives and friends. This practice severely reduces the independence
of the farmer. Several informants stated that they would not
increase crop production because neighbors and relatives subse-
426 quently "borrow" all extra produce. Although lending is a tradition
556 which increases the social status of the lender, resentment toward
178 this social obligation is increasingly expressed among younger land-
holders, who place higher esteem on cash than tradition.

241 At present, the typical farmer appears to work his 'api an
461 average of 18 to 20 hours per week. The remaining time is occupied
[125] by a variety of additional activities. Although statistical evidence
of the duration of each activity was not collected, three activities
241 appeared to be dominant. Owing to the distribution of population
461 and the subsequent pattern of settlement, a farmer often spends
484 several hours per day traveling to and from his 'api. Travel
extremes from zero to 21 miles were reported by interviewees. Occa-
sionally, informants reported leasing land on nearby islands, which
necessitated travel overland, as well as by boat. However, an
average of 6.75 miles was determined to be the distance necessary
[494] for the typical farmer to travel to his 'api. Although the principal
islands of the Kingdom have bus transportation, the busses average
no more than 15 miles per hour, thereby consuming at least an hour
of travel per day for the average farmer. Frequently, walking for

only basic agricultural tools, such as a bush knife, hoe, planting stick, and spade (Plate 10).[A] Beyond these, little else is used for cultivation. Of all landholding Tongans surveyed, only 16 percent used a plow or tractor and, in each case, the implement was either rented or borrowed.

The maintenance of agricultural machinery, in terms of efficiency and materials (i.e., fuel, parts, and lubricants), severely limits the possibility of increased use within Tonga. Interviews within the Tongan Department of Agriculture indicated that this problem reaches every level of agricultural operation, from trucks to garden tilling machinery. For example, a large truck was cited as having not been used for over 18 months, because of a broken transmission gear. The required part, ordered from Japan, had not yet arrived and no one knew if it ever would. In the interim, no attempt to make the part, in one of the local blacksmith shops, had been made. It was confidentially learned that, should the part arrive, the truck would remain largely inoperative because of another damaged gear which was not totally broken and, therefore, not replaced. Other examples of this situation were noted, emphasizing the serious lack of basic mechanical service.

When workable machinery is available for rent, the cost is often prohibitive to the average farmer. Informants also complained that rental machinery is allocated on the basis of social standing and status, rather than need. Thus, the majority of planting, cultivation, and harvesting on Tonga remains the work of hands, and is expected to remain so.

[A Due to poor quality of origina reproduction, plate has not been marked for : Category-- Analyst.]

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

241 423 Land tenure is also related to changes in the Tongan agricultural system. The land tenure system in Tonga is the cause of considerable social dissatisfaction and economic inefficiency. Farmers are reluctant to invest significant quantities of labor or capital in land, until secure tenure has been established, thereby [566] reducing productivity levels. Since more than 50 percent of Tonga's tillable acreage is owned by royalty or nobility, the land available for crop production is severely limited. It is a general opinion in Tonga that land shortage is the major restraint upon improving agricultural productivity. However, land shortage in absolute terms is not the case. The shortage of acreage is in that which is made available to Tongan farmers by the nobility and royalty.

241 Tongan social and cultural traditions are also an influential force upon agriculture. For example, many surveyed farmers expressed a reluctance to increase production because of the corresponding increase in social obligations which would offset the [426] effort. This custom of "borrowing" cash or crops, with infrequent repayment, has caused many farmers to purposely curtail production. In addition, growing urbanization has had an enormous impact upon Tongan agriculture.

241 433 178 Despite the above, Tongan economy remains tied to agriculture. This fact is unlikely to change in the foreseeable future, despite continuing population pressure, alterations in cropping patterns, and the increasing consumption of imported foodstuffs.